The Dixiecrat Comeback in Powell's Fall, P. 2

Barry Goldwater Makes It Practically Unanimous

"Johnson's stock promises to recover part way from its current low level. . . . But basic sources of public discontent . . . will persist if there's no Vietnam peace."
—Wall Street Journal: *Washington Wire, Jan. 6.*

"Taipeh, Taiwan, Jan. 8 (AP)—Barry Goldwater said today . . . that if the Vietnam war was still on in 1968 the Democrats would lose the White House and probably Congress."
—New York Times, *Jan. 9.*

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A Strategy Only Fellow Con-Men Can Appreciate

The State of the Union message was a half-hearted affair, delivered to a half-hearted audience. The warmest applause greeted the reference to lower interest rates and revival of the home building market. This touched the profit nerve in a Congress dominated by small town business men and their lawyers, many of them engaged in real estate speculations dependent on cheap money. The most revealing reaction was the tepid applause when the President quoted Gen. Westmoreland as saying the enemy could no longer succeed on the battlefield. Congress has heard too many predictions by too many Generals in this war. Something more deadly than unpopularity has overtaken this conflict—it has become a bore. Congress is tired of it. It wasn't particularly thrilling anyway to hear that the world's most powerful military machine, and certainly the most costly and the most boastful, couldn't be knocked out on the battlefield by a ragged army of underfed coolies. If that negative proposition was the Pentagon's best sales talk, the war was a poor buy. Westmoreland may yet go down in history as the first General to be saluted by a yawn.

Nothing Big Enough

Nothing in the Johnson program has dimension. The tax boost is too small to end the deficit. The social program is too small to do more than provoke the poor. The old age pension increase is too small to save the elderly from slow starvation. The war is too small to enthuse the hawks. Johnson is like a speaker who has begun to lose his audience. The audience senses that he knows it. This is the moment when people begin to feel around for their overshoes and to nudge their way out to the aisles. Johnson's strategy is too slick to talk about and so subtle that only a few fellow con-men can appreciate it. Johnson must keep his European flank quiet when so much of his military force is bogged down in this fifth-rate colonial war. This dictates friendly overtures to Moscow and the East European Communists lest they stir up some new Berlin-type crisis. The overtures have the virtue of intensifying suspicion between Moscow and Peking. They undermine guerrilla morale and seek to buy Communist acquiescence in the crushing of the South Vietnamese revolt. Johnson makes overtures even to Peking and Hanoi. He wants to isolate the Viet Cong. If he had the nerve to stop the bombing of North Vietnam, he might even succeed, for it is the bombing of another "socialist country" not the uprising on the other side of the containment line which really has upset the bloc and led it to pour supplies into Vietnam.

Johnson's Grand Design is too corkscrew. It is to end the cold war while fighting a hot one. This is too complicated a strategy for either side. Most people are too simple-minded for such crafty tactics. The guerrillas ask themselves how Moscow can make deals with Washington while American napalm burns them up. The ordinary American asks why he

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Winning People's Hearts

We would like to focus on an incident which occurred as our troops began their invasion of the Mekong Delta. After three days, on Monday, Jan. 9, the Marines had still failed to make contact with hostile forces. The Washington Post, like most papers that day, said "U.S. Marines reported only three enemy dead, one a woman." A fuller report in the New York Times said two of the three local Vietnamese killed in the operation so far were officially described as "two VC who had been sniping at Marine positions," but added that when the bodies were examined "they appeared to be those of an unarmed young man and woman." Their real story was in the UPI's first account of the invasion in the Washington Daily News Jan. 7. This said the landing was unopposed and that the first Americans to land were 13 newsmen but that two Vietnamese teen-agers were killed. "The boy and girl walked, holding hands," the UPI said, "into a Marine position. Sentries saw them approaching and not knowing who they might be, cut them down with a burst of gunfire. They died together, their heads still joined." So our first victims were a couple of strolling sweethearts. Our sentries were nervous or stupid. And Marine Corps HQ tried to lie out of it later by describing the boy and girl as snipers. This combination of stupidity and mendacity will prove, we suspect, a fitting prologue to this campaign to win the hearts of the people in the Mekong Delta.

P.S. An endearing footnote was supplied by the week-end Le Monde (Jan. 8-9) which has just arrived. The French correspondent with the Marine landing said the U.S. commander had declared the sector a "free kill zone". It was explained this meant "we have the right to shoot on sight anything which moves." Let's hope the natives take to these instant legalisms.

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The Republican-Dixiecrat Coalition Vote Against Powell . . .

Bad omen: The significance of the votes in the House on opening day is that the right has closed ranks while the left-of-centre is deeply split. The vote of 332 to 185 which knocked out the 21-day rule was the signal that the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition is back in power. Instead of liberalizing the rules as planned, they have again been tightened to make the Rules committee under Colmer of Mississippi the citadel of reaction. Against this background one can see the tragic significance of the 305-to-126 vote *against* the Udall resolution to seat Powell while his record was investigated and the 364 to 64 vote *for* the Ford resolution to bar him from his seat pending a 5-week inquiry. Granted that Powell invited this by his contemptuous effrontery, the vote and his removal as committee chairman still had racist overtones. If every Congressman who used his prerogatives to go woman-chasing around the world at public expense were to be purged there would be a lot of empty seats in the House. The Negro will now feel betrayed by both parties, altogether forget that the first Negro since Reconstruction entered the Senate the same day, and create more antagonism by flailing around wildly at white friend and foe alike. The result is the breakdown of the liberal coalition, and a rise in a hate and bitterness that can only lead us all down a blind alley.

Not the First Profligate to Be A Political Hero: As an antidote to racial generalizations about the career of Adam Clayton Powell, the character of the demonstration in his favor on Capitol Hill and his tasteless demagogy in comparing himself with Christ, it may be useful to glance back 200 years at the great popular hero of the equally riotous lower classes in England. John Wilkes, like Powell, was a dissolute playboy and an impudent rebel. The disfranchised and semi-literate mobs who cheered "Wilkes and Liberty" when he was expelled from Parliament were, if anything, more disorderly than the Negroes who burned draft cards and cried "Burn, baby, burn" on the steps of the Capitol. But Wilkes in his violent career in and out of Parliament and jail championed our war of national liberation in the midst of the British attempt to crush it, widened freedom of the press and prepared the way for those reforms which were to give the disfranchised poor in England the political equality long denied them. The gentleman's feeling against the lower classes then was as "racist" as the worst white supremacist's attitude toward the Negro. The Gordon riots in London were as bloody and sprang from a resentment as deep as Watts. These are the similar birth pangs of emancipation, and deserve our patience and our sympathy.

Another right-to-travel battle in Congress: The unanimous decision by Mr. Justice Fortas in the Laub and Travis cases is good news not only for the defendants, who made unauthorized trips to Cuba, but for recent visitors to Vietnam. The Supreme Court held that the law making it a crime to leave or enter the country without a valid passport in time of national emergency must—like all criminal statutes—be narrowly construed. The law does not say that the holder of a valid passport may not, after leaving, go to a country declared "off limits" by the State Department. The Court held, however, that it was merely interpreting the statute and the regulations. The Zemel case two years ago held area restrictions constitutional. It thus opened the way for enactment of legislation which would make travel to a blacklisted country a criminal offense. The State Department has been trying since

Lodge Wooly on Walls

Mr. Eric SEVAREID: Senator Mansfield suggested the other day that we ought to think about putting some kind of a wall . . . on the 17th parallel, cutting off the North [of Vietnam] from the South. What was your personal reaction to this?

Ambassador LODGE: A tremendous engineering task but it takes a tremendous amount of labor. And we have a great labor shortage in Vietnam and to put one across here [in Vietnam], if they are going to take it around there [in Laos], isn't so terribly attractive. But these barriers have proven to be very useful. They were used in North Africa between Algeria and Tunisia, you remember the French used them. And this—you have barbed wire and a mine field and electrified wire and a ditch—and World War II you remember in Libya the British laid a mine field 40 miles long from the Mediterranean to the Sahara, and it was very effective. And Rommel came through and lifted up the mines. He came through the middle and pulled the British [mines] up and then came around the side. Do you remember that in 1942? So there is a lot to be said for it.

—CBS-TV "Lodge on Vietnam" Jan. 8.

Since both the French and the British lost despite these "walls", what IS to be said for them?

Brazil's U.S. Supported Military Dictatorship Regressive in Race Policy, Too

"It is both an article of national political faith and an international cliche that racial discrimination does not exist in Brazil. . . . It is equally true that a Negro is nearly as rare as an Eskimo in the halls of the Brazilian Congress, the officer corps of the Navy, the foreign service, the religious orders, the best clubs, the higher priced restaurants, and even in the universities. . . . 35 percent of Brazil's 80 million people can be considered non-white, but the percentage having at least one African ancestor probably is much higher. . . .

"When abolition came in 1888, the Brazilian Negro found himself in much the same situation as his American brother. He had no capital, few skills, less education and small chance of acquiring any of these. He's been trying to dig himself out of this hole ever since. Poor Brazilians are not necessarily black, but most black Brazilians are poor, many of them desperately so. They lack political leverage because as illiterates (half of all Brazilians and probably 90 percent of the black cannot read or write) they are denied the franchise. . . .

"President Janio Quadros in 1961 openly declared Brazil's ethnic, political and economic identification with the new African nations, a policy followed by his successor, Joao Goulart, but reversed by Humberto Castelo Branco's revolutionary [i.e. counter-revolutionary—IFS] government which took over here in 1964." *

—Smith Hempstone from Brazil: Wash. Star *Jan. 4.*

* Goulart was overthrown by the military with U.S. encouragement two weeks after he asked Congress for land reform and universal suffrage.—IFS

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. . . State Dept. Already Wonders Whether to Intervene in China

1957 to get such a statute and may try again this year. It would be well to prepare for that battle now. The U.S. is the only country in the "free world" which imposes such travel restrictions. Another aspect of this situation also deserves protest. Current travel restrictions are based on a declaration of national emergency issued by Truman in 1950 at the outbreak of the Korean war. That "national emergency" ended long ago but the semi-dictatorial powers assumed under it are still in force. These perpetual "emergencies" erode America's freedom.

Intervene in China? A question already being discussed at the State Department is what the U.S. should do if civil war should break out in China. Those old enough to remember the costly and self-defeating character of the intervention during the civil war which followed the Bolshevik revolution in Russia will not think it too soon to begin the buildup of an informed public opinion against any such adventure in China. The first step is to make sure that Chiang is kept firmly leashed. We find ourselves completely at a loss in trying to understand what is going on inside China. A middle-of-the-road French politician, Jacques Duhamel, who was in China last Fall and two years before that, has written two brilliant articles in *Le Figaro* (Jan. 5 and 6) from a point of view sympathetic to Mao whom he knows well. They're worth reading, whether you agree or disagree.

Spain Also a Potential Trouble Spot: It is not too soon also to begin to think about what the U.S. should do if there were to be a popular uprising in Spain against Franco. The discontent is widespread—not only in Catalonia and the Basque country, where animosity to Madrid has deep nationalist as well as social roots, but within the "company unions", the Falangist movement and the Church itself, where Franco is no longer regarded as a favorite son. The Spaniards fear civil war and revolution; they hope for peaceful change. But the possibility of the regime's provoking trouble by some particularly brutal action in dealing with unrest cannot be excluded. Would the U.S. then, because of our bases in Spain, give armed support to Franco against the Spanish people.

Maybe We Soon Won't Need Stockpiles At All

"Washington, Jan. 6—The Government announced today that the stockpiles of 77 scarce or imported materials considered high enough to meet the needs of conventional war were high enough for a nuclear war, too. There was one exception—opium [for pain-killers]. For the great majority of the materials the stockpile needs for nuclear war were found to be lower than for conventional war. The reason, officials said, is primarily that the population would be lower."

—New York Times, *January 7.*

No Way to End Suspicion: The suspicion that Tran Van Van was killed by the military rather than the Viet Cong will be intensified by the swift way his alleged killer has been tried and condemned. The *Vietnam Guardian* is still suspended for airing these doubts. Defense counsel in the two day trial was refused the right to call as witnesses any members of the 12-man committee set up by the Constituent Assembly to investigate the murder. The head of the committee complained that its members knew nothing of the trial until they read about it in the newspapers. The committee's efforts to investigate were stymied when the police arrested a young writer and Southern Assemblyman on the investigating commission after he talked with the accused slayer. The police accused the Assemblyman of trying to get the accused man to change his confession. The effect was to intimidate the investigators. Tran Van Van, a wealthy landowner, was an opponent of the military junta as he was earlier of the Diem dictatorship. He was Ky's leading civilian rival for the Presidency, and a man who favored negotiations for peace.

George Meany's Pravda: There was not a single word in the *AFL-CIO News* about the UAW's blast against the AFL-CIO leadership, though this was the year-end's biggest labor story. Walter Reuther's name appears on the paper's masthead but he seems to be an un-person insofar as the *AFL-CIO News* is concerned. As under Stalin so under Meany: any criticism of the No. 1 Boy is unprintable.

Black Aspiration Has Always Seemed A Red Plot to HUAC and the White Supremacists

"We, the undersigned, petition the House of Representatives to stop the Committee on Un-American Activities from carrying out its plan to investigate uprisings in the black ghettoes of this country. The Committee claims to be looking for 'subversive elements', 'Communists doing the work of Moscow or Peking', It says it will not investigate the civil rights movement unless it finds a '. . . civil rights group is actually controlled and dominated by Communists,' Yet, as Southerners, we know from experience that the Committee's viewpoint is that Communists are responsible for all movements for social change.

"For 28 years, Southerners working for political and economic democracy have been labelled Communists or Communist dupes by the Committee. It has always proposed legislation to repress activists rather than to remedy social injustice. The Committee insinuates that ideas and movements concerned with ending the problems of racial injustice in our society are treasonous. This attitude has resulted in an atmosphere in which unknown numbers of Southerners have hidden their desire to end racism because they feared harassment and loss of their jobs or lives.

"Therefore we feel it is our responsibility to warn the rest of the country about this Committee. We see no reason why its investigation into urban disturbances would have different results. Two Southern segregationists on this Committee will be in charge of overseeing the preliminary investigation. One of them, Rep. Buchanan of Alabama, recently called the use of civil disobedience by the civil rights movement a cause of outbreak in the urban ghettoes.

"If the civil right movement has had any part in these uprisings, it is by reminding America of what it says it is—a land of equal opportunity and justice—and what it truly is for one-fourth of its people—one of poverty, unemployment, unequal education and injustice. For a fourth of these poor people, there is the added torment of hatred and discrimination against them because they are black.

"These, not some vague external conspiracy, are the problems our government should be investigating."

—From a petition to Congress Jan. 6 by 200 civil rights activists including Martin Luther King, Julian Bond, Stokeley Carmichael, Myles Horton, and Floyd McKissick.

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How Can The World Relax When A Military Monster Is Loose?

(*Continued from Page One*)

should give trade and other concessions to Moscow and Warsaw and Prague when they are supplying the planes and the radar and the guns to shoot down American fliers. One side asks— if imperialism is so black an enemy, why compromise with it? The other side substitutes Communism for imperialism and asks the very same question. If Communism is so total an enemy that it must be burned out in Vietnam, why strengthen it in Europe? Or, some may ask, if we can get along with it in Europe, why not in Vietnam?

Truman's Strategy Different

Truman had a much easier way to sell his limited war in Korea. He could argue, as he did through General Bradley, that to let that war widen into a war with China would be the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time and "with the wrong enemy." We had to keep our nuclear powder dry for the Soviet Union. Truman's little hot war fit quite easily into his global cold war. Johnson's proposition is far different: To try and end the global cold war with Communism while mercilessly bombing a Communist country in Asia. Those on the other side must ask: If we let the Americans get away with this in North Vietnam, what is to stop them from handing out the same treatment to us next time? The rest of the world must ask: who is this mountebank who talks of relaxing world tension while he pours death and destruction on a tiny country?

How can Johnson talk of slowing down the world's arms race while he shows how helpless a country is which has no means of retaliating? How can we blame China for spending its bread on nuclear arms when we demonstrate on its borders what we can do to them, too, if they have no means of hitting back? The inner logic of the Vietnamese war for our military-industrial complex is to let the desperate, the hopeless and the hungry elsewhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America know what we can do to them if they dare to rise against their privileged oligarchies and our investments. The Pax America is at stake in the Mekong Delta. This effort to impose our will by blood and fire wherever we chose to do so is hardly calculated to make the rest of the world feel relaxed.

Memo to Student Leaders

Their Terror and Ours

"We recognize that people living or working in close proximity to military targets may have suffered. We recognize, too, that men and machines are not infallible and that some mistakes have occurred. But there is a vast difference between such unintentional events and a deliberate policy of attacking civilian centers. I would remind you that tens of thousands of civilians have been killed, wounded, or kidnapped in South Vietnam, not by accident but as the result of a deliberate policy of terrorism and intimidation by the Vietcong."

—Secretary Rusk Jan. 6 replying to the 100 student leaders who protested the war to Johnson.

"Saigon (AP)—National police statistics show that the Vietcong during the last three years have assassinated roughly 2100 South Vietnamese civilians because they were connected with the government or too close to the terrorists' targets. The assassinations show a steady increase—from 479 in 1964 to 608 in 1965 to an estimated 1000 last year. . . . These deaths are distinct from civilian fatalities caused by conventional warfare. NO STATISTICS ARE KEPT ON THESE [our emphasis] but the best available information from U.S. and Vietnamese sources points to an average overall death toll of 1,000 South Vietnamese every month, due to action by both sides in the war."

—Washington Post, *Jan. 8.*

So, if these figures are correct, the war in the South takes as many civilian lives in a month as we claim the terrorists took in all of last year. And most of these civilians die from our bombings.

The figures, however, are open to question. Saigon tends to understate civilian casualties (1) because we hate to admit them and (2) because, like the French, we tend to count every dead body as enemy, thus padding out the kill ratio. Student leaders would do well to check Rusk's unctuous phrases and the AP's figures against Douglas Pike's new book on the Vietcong. Pike says terrorist actions have been declining in recent years. He had access to classified information. The last year for which he gives figures is 300 killings in 1965, or half the AP's figure. Pike says the VC uses terror "judiciously, selectively and sparingly"—hardly a description of our bombings.

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